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The Theology of Clement of Alexandria

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THE THEOLOGY OF CLEMENT OF ALEXANDRIA

by

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requirements for the degree of Master of Arts
in the department of Christian Doctrine of
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The Foreward

The following study of the theology of Clement of Alexandria is an attempt to gain some definite ideas of the theological tenets held by this early Christian. Such a study reveals the fact that Clement did not altogether have a definite theology completely formulated. On some points he has been almost silent - for reasons quite apparent. Although later theologies have attempted to find their justification in these early church fathers, in this work there is no such attempt. Rather, it is the intention to allow Clement speak in his own behalf from the literature which he has left. It is not always easy to do this because of our adeptness in finding additional meanings in earlier concepts which may not have been there at all. The method of the study has been to follow the traditional theological divisions giving the view point of Clement in the case of each of these particular sections. It is to be understood that the following sections of this work are in reality a description and not a proof of some definite thesis. If the author succeeds in presenting a representation of the theological thought-life of Clement, the mission of the writer shall have in some degree been fulfilled.

THE THEOLOGY OF CLEMENT OF ALEXANDRIA

CHAPTER I

CLEMENT'S IDEA OF GOD

Clement, who made no great distinction between the truth revealed by the philosophers and the prophets, quotes Pythagoreans who represent the idea of Clement's conception of God:

"We must not keep the Pythagoreans in the background, who say, "God is one, and he is not, as some suppose, outside the frame of things, but within it; but, in all the entirety of his being is the whole circle of existence, surveying all nature, and blending in harmonious union the whole, - the author of all His own forces and works, the giver of light in heaven, and Father of all, - the mind and vital power of the whole world, - the mover of all things.'" 1

From these remarks quoted by Clement we may conclude that he held to a theistic conception of God. Those stressing the transcendence of God to the exclusion of the immanent aspects do not represent his thinking at all. At times Clement stresses the idea of "the indwelling Deity" to such a strong degree that we might conclude that we see the

1. Clement, Exhortation to the Heathen, The Ante-Nicene Christian Library, Vol. 12, p. 215.

immanence stressed in the direction of pantheism. However, it is most satisfactory to the facts of the theistic position.

Again Clement has conceived God as the Beginning of the universe and the producer of the beginning:

Now God, who is without beginning, is the perfect beginning of the universe, and the producer of the beginning. As, then, He is being, He is the first principal of the department of action, as he is good, of morals; as he is mind, on the other hand, He is the first principle of reasoning and of judgment. Whence also He alone is Teacher, who is the Son of the Most High Father, the Instructor of Men. ¹

Again God for Clement is "the King of all things" and the great criterion for all things.

"Who then, is the King of all. God who is the measure of the truth of all existence. As, then, the things that are to be measured are contained in the measure, so also the knowledge of God measures and comprehends truth. The truly holy Moses says, 'There shall not be in thy bag a balance, great or small, but a true and just balance shall be to thee,' deeming the balance and measure and the number of the whole to be God. The unjust and unrighteous idols are hid at home in the bag, and, so to speak, in the polluted soul. But the only just measure is the only true God, always just, continuing the self-same; who measures all things, and weighs them by righteousness as in a balance, grasping and sustaining universal nature in equilibrium. 'God therefore as the old saying has it, occupying the beginning, the middle, and the end of all that is in being, keeps the straight course, while he makes the circuit of nature; and justice always follows Him, avenging those who violate the divine law.'"²

1. Clement - The Stromata, The Ante-Nicene Christian Library, Vol. II, p. 215.
2. Ibid., The Exhortation to the Heathen, Vol. II, p. 70.

Further, we see that Clement thought of God in terms of the Great Creator with attributes of power:

How shall I feel what God makes? Behold the whole universe; it is his work: and the heaven, and the sun, and angels, and men, are the work of his fingers. How great is the power of God. His bare volition was the creation of the universe. For God alone made it, because he alone is truly God. By the bare exercise of volition he creates. His mere willing was followed by the springing in-to being of what he willed.¹

God is a being above time and space "beyond even the One and the Monad" and he is nameless although we are obliged to give him names. In reading some passages of Clement's writings one might be led to believe that he would deny consciousness of the external world to God. In all probability Clement only means that God knows reality not as external to Himself. He certainly does not teach that the Father has not consciousness except through the Son. Like Justin, he sometimes speaks of God as the absolute and the unknowable, or even as the ⁱⁿcomprehensible whose life is sufficient unto itself without creation. But it would seem apparent that he has no real interest in concessions like these. His higher utterances contradict and disprove them. He is mainly concerned in enforcing the immanence of God. Language seems

1. Clement, The Exhortation to the Heathen, The Ante-Nicene Christian Library, Vol. II, p. 65.

poor and inadequate as he struggles with it in order to assert and illustrate the workings of the present God.

Clement himself acknowledges that a discourse respecting God is a most difficult theme to handle. He found it so because it was difficult ~~to find~~ the first principle of everything is difficult to find out - the absolutely first and oldest principle which is the cause of all things, being and having been, is difficult to exhibit. Clement, would say that it is impossible to express that which is neither genus, nor difference, nor species, nor individual, nor number. Hence, no one can rightly express God wholly. Because of His very greatness, He is ranked as the All, and is the Father of the universe itself. *activities are good. Certainly so*

It is impossible for us to predicate any parts of the Deity. The One is indivisible and is infinite and is not to be considered with reference to ins⁶crutability. No man can place dimensions for God, and certainly he has no limits. God is without form or name. If we do place some name to designate the deity, we do not do so properly - either terming Him the One, or the Good, or Mind, or Absolute being or Father, or God, or Creator, or Lord. Clement's line of thought was that in reality we do not supply a name for God. It is because of human frailty that we are compelled to use good names in order that we may have these as points of sup-

port for our convenience and to help us from erring in other respects. No appellation by itself does really express God, but when they are taken together they would be indicative of the power of the Omnipotent. It must be realized that predicates are expressed from things which belong to things themselves, or from their mutual relation. Clement made it clear that God is not satisfactorily apprehended from what he calls "the science of demonstration" because of its dependence upon primary and known principles. Since there is nothing antecedent to the Unbegotten, the ability to apprehend God from this source is very limited.

In Clement's conception of the Deity, the nature of God is good and, hence, his activities are good. Certainly He who loves everything wishes to do it good and that which does good must be in everyway better than that which does not do the good. Nothing is better than the good. The Good, then, does good. God is admitted to be good. Therefore, God does good. Hence, it becomes clear that the Good, in virtue of His being good, does not do anything else than that which is good. Consequently, God does all good. God does no good to man without caring for him. It is because God cares for man that he takes care of him. God has a purpose in all of his goodness. The purposive good of God is to take care of man. All of this has been shown in a practical

way, in instructing him in the Word, who is the true coadjutor of God's love to man. The good is not said to be good, on the account of its being possessed of virtue - for it is itself virtue - but on account of its being in itself and by itself good.

The resultant fact of God's goodness is His concern for mankind. For Clement this remained the greatest proof of the goodness of God: that since our relationship to Him is disobedience and being estranged from Him, He nevertheless cares for us. The affection in animals for their progeny is natural, and the friendship of kindred minds is the result of intimacy. But the mercy of God is rich toward us, who are in no respect related to Him either in essence or nature, but only in our being the work of His will.

It is a very interesting question to observe from the source materials if there are really grounds in Clement's works to warrant our designating him a Trinitarian. Roman Catholic theologians maintain that Clement was a Trinitarian beyond any question. They say that although Clement preceded the days of the Trinitarian controversy, he taught the Godhead in three terms. Despite the fact that some critics have doubted that he distinguished between these terms as persons, the Catholic theologians have held that a careful examination of Clement's works proves that he did. They see

the second term of the Trinity as the Word. Their further argument might be given as follows.

Photius believed that Clement taught a plurality of the Words, whereas in reality Clement merely drew a distinction between the Father's Divine immanent attribute of intelligence and the Personal Word who is the Son. The Son is eternally begotten, and has the very attributes of the Father. So far does Clement push the idea of unity as to approach Modalism. And yet so loose a writer is he that elsewhere is found disquieting traces of the very opposite error of subordinationism. These, however, may be explained away. In fact he needs to be judged, more that writings generally, not by a chance phrase here or there, but by the general drift of his teaching. Of the Holy Ghost he says very little and when he does refer to the Third Person of the blessed Trinity, he adheres to the language of the Scripture. He acknowledges two natures in Christ. Christ is the Man-God who profits as both as God and as man. Clement evidently regards Christ as one Person - the Word. Instances of inter changes of idioms is frequent in his writings. Photius accused Clement of Docetism. Clement, however, clearly admits in Christ as real body but he thought his body exempt from the common needs of life, as eating and drinking, the Soul of Christ exempt from the movement of the passions of joy and sadness.¹

To say the least, the above contention that there is inherent in the ideas of Clement, a clear idea of the Trinity as was held in succeeding centuries, is an example of reading into an earlier literature ideas which could scarcely have been there. That there may be passages that may be construed to refer to three distinct and defined persons in the God-

1. Havey, Francis P., Clement of Alexandria, The Catholic Encyclopedia, Vol. IV, p. 47

head might not be altogether denied. Clement himself does have this to say:

And the address in the Timaeus calls the Creator, Father, speaking thus: 'Ye God's of Gods, of Whom I am the Father; and the creator of your works.' So that when he (Plato) says, 'Around the king, of all, all things are, and because of him are all things; and he (or that) is the cause of all things; and around the second are the things second in order; and around the third, the third.' I understand nothing else than the Holy Trinity to be meant; for the third is the Holy Spirit, and the Son is the Second, by whom all things were made by the will of the Father.¹

That such a statement can be construed to mean the Trinity that became common to the Christianity of later centuries, is somewhat doubtful. References of this kind are too infrequent and are too capable of being misconstrued to serve as be of ultimate proof. A general survey of the materials will not justify our calling Clement a Trinitarian.

Clement advances an interesting bit of logic to show that God is not the author of sin. He says that a person that gives protection through a shield is really the means of keeping unwounded him whom he protected. The demons of Socrates ~~were~~ a cause, not by not preventing, but by exhorting, even if (strictly speaking) he did not exhort. Neither praises nor censures, neither rewards nor punishments are right, when the soul has not the power of inclination and disinclination.

1. Clement, The Stromata, Vol. 12, p. 282.
Ante Nicene Christian Library

tion, but evil is involuntary. Whence he who prevents is a cause; while he who prevents not judges justly the soul's choice. So in no respect is God the author of evil. But since free choice and inclination originate sins, and a mistaken judgment sometimes prevails, from which, it is ignorance and stupidity, - we do not take pains to recede, punishments are rightly inflicted. To take a fever as involuntary; but when one takes a fever through his own fault from excess, we blame him. Inasmuch, then, as fever is involuntary, for no one prefers evil as evil, but induced by the pleasure that is in it, and imagines it good, considers it desirable. Since such is the case, to free ourselves from ignorance, and from evil and voluptuous choice, and above all, to withhold our assent from those delusive phantasies, depends upon ourselves.

Although, according to Clement, God is not responsible for evil, He does not allow the evil in the world to be useless but guides it to good ends. Clement declares that the counsels and activities of those who are rebellious, proceed from a bad disposition as bodily diseases from a bad constitution, but are guided by Providence to a salutary issue, even though the cause be productive of disease. It is accordingly the greatest achievement of Divine Providence, not to allow the evil, which has sprung from voluntary apostasy to

remain useless and for no good, and to become in all respects injurious. It is the work of the Divine Wisdom, and Excellence, and Power, not alone to do good (for it is this, so to speak, the nature of God, as it is fire to warm and of light to illumine), but especially to insure that what happens through the evils hatched by any, may come to a good and useful issue, and to use to advantage those things which appear to be evils.

If God sends punishment to evildoers, as Clement declares he does, how can this fact be reconciled, with the idea of God's love and concern for man? These two seemingly contradictory ideas are justified in this manner. Such a mode of treatment is advantageous even in the training of children, occupying the place of a necessary help. Many of the passions are cured by punishment and the inculcation of the sterner precepts. Instruction in principles requires a certain amount of discipline. Reproof is, as it were, the surgery of the passions of the soul. The passions might be compared to an abscess of the truth, which must be cut open by the incision of the lancet of reproof.

Reproach is like the application of medicine, dislodging the callosities of the passions, and purging the impurities of the lewdness of life. In addition there is a reduction of the excrescences of pride and a restoration of the patient

to the healthy and true state of humanity. Admonition is, as it were, the regimen of the diseased soul, prescribing what it must take, and forbidding what it must not. All of these prescriptions tend to bring salvation and eternal health.

Furthermore, the general of an army, by inflicting fines and corporate punishments with chains and the extremest disgrace on offenders, and sometimes even punishing individuals by death, aims at good, doing so for the admonition of the officers under him.

Thus also He who is our Great General, the word, the Commander-In-Chief of the universe by admonishing those who threw off the restraints of His law so that He may effect their release from slavery, error, and the captivity of the adversary. At last they are brought peacefully to the sacred concord of citizenship.

CHAPTER II
THE CHRISTOLOGY OF CLEMENT

In making an investigation of the Christology of Clement, it becomes apparent that the chief conception of Christ was that of the Instructor. Over and over again this idea comes to the surface in the several works of Clement.

"It is time in due course to say who our Instructor is. He is called Jesus. Sometimes he calls Himself a shepherd, and says, 'I am the good Shepherd.' According to a metaphor drawn from shepherds, who lead the sheep, is hereby understood the Instructor, who leads the children - the Shepherd who tends the babes. For the babes are simple, being figuratively described as sheep. 'And they shall all,' it is said, 'be one flock and one shepherd.' The Word, then, who leads the children to salvation, is appropriately called the Instructor. With the greatest clearness the Word has spoken respecting himself by Hosea: 'I am your Instructor.'"

The Instructor not only is an instructor in the ordinary sense in teaching and guiding but He also fulfills the mission of a Physician. The Instructor cures the unnatural passions of the soul by means of exhortation. It is with the highest propriety that the help of bodily diseases is called the healing art - an art acquired by human skill. But the

1. Clement, The Instructor, The Ante-Nicene Christian Library, Vol. II, p. 149

paternal Word is the only Paeonian physician of human infirmities, and the holy charmer of the sick soul.

"'Save,' it is said, 'Thy Servant, O My God who trusteth in Thee.' 'Pity me, O Lord; for I will say to Thee all the day.' For a while the 'physician's art' - according to Democritus, 'Heals the diseases of the body; wisdom frees the soul from passion.'" ¹

Beyond the conception of a physican as might have been held by a Greek philosopher, the good Instructor, the Wisdom, the Word of the Father, who made man, cares for the whole nature of His creature. The all-sufficient Physician of humanity, the Savior heals both body and soul.

"'Rise up,' he said to the paralytic; 'take thy bed on which thou liest, and go away home;' and straightway the infirm man received strength. And to the dead He said, 'Lazarus, go forth' and the dead man issued from his coffin such as he was ere he died, having undergone the resurrection."²

Further, this good Physician leads the soul itself by precepts and gifts. This work is continued in the course of time. He is generous in forgiving the sinners.

The person and work of the Instructor, the indwelling Deity, is not a new or strange thing in the world. Since Christ is the indwelling God, His incarnation is not a thing new or strange. Clement did not think of it as an abrupt break in the continuity of man's moral history. There is no such idea present ~~that it had been~~ decreed in some

1. Clement, Ibid, p. 116

2. Ibid., p. 116

divine counsel in order to avoid some impending catastrophe which suddenly confronted or threatened to disappoint the divine purpose. Nor can we say that Clement looked upon the incarnation as a mere historical event or incident by which he came into the world from a distance, and having done his work retired from it. Christ was in the world before He came in the flesh and was preparing the world for His physical advent. As an indwelling Deity, He was to a certain extent already universally incarnated, as the light that lighteth every man, the light shining in darkness, the light and life of men in every age. Hence the prophecies of His advent enter into the organic process of human history, and in the spiritual life of man may be read the foreshadowing of Him who was the crown and contemplation of humanity, the fulfillment of the whole creation.

What can be said of Clement's position concerning the relationship of the historic person, Jesus of Nazareth, and God? It becomes quite apparent to us at once that Clement makes no formal endeavor to demonstrate the connection between the historic personality of Jesus and the deity whom he held to have been incarnate in Him. This is the assumption which underlies his thought, that which he takes for granted, because, in his own exuberant faith, he feels no need of a labored demonstration. But the connection, as it existed

in his mind, may be clearly traced. He does not rely on the display of omnipotent power, as seen in the miracles of the historical Christ, to confirm His divine character, but upon the life of the church of which He is the perennial source, in the transformation which His name still works in human character. The proof of His deity is found in the self-sacrifice found in living individuals which is the reproduction of His example and it is found in the boundless hope which has its spring in love and devotion which the Christ still continues to inspire, in the spiritual illumination of a soul who has acknowledged Him as its Master. There is no qualification in his belief that Christ is in the fullest God indwelling in the world and humanity. The world is viewed as the organic whole, moving in to some exalted destiny in the harmony of the divine order. Humanity has its life and being in Christ, to whom it is constitutionally related.

As we have already seen, Clement thought of Christ often in the terms of an Instructor. The Instructor guides men to a saving course of conduct. Just as the General directs the phalanx to result in the safety of the soldiers, and the pilot steers the vessel desiring to save the passengers, so the Instructor guides humanity to a saving course of conduct through His solicitude for us. If a man will seek in accordance with reason for some particular guidance, it will be

granted according to those who believe in the Instructor. Just as the helmsman does not always yield to the winds, but sometimes turns the prow towards them and opposes the whole force of the hurricane, so the Instructor never yields to the blasts that blow in this world, nor commits the child to them like a vessel to make shipwreck on a wild and licentious course of life. But often wafted only by the favoring breeze of the Spirit of truth, the Instructor holds to the believer's helm (which was symbolic of the listening ability of the individual) until that man has been brought through life and ultimately anchored safe in the haven of heaven. The Instructor gives specific admonition and direction to such a practical affair as the clothing that should be worn.

"'Boast not of the clothing of your garment, and be not elated on account of any glory as it is unlawful.' Eccles 11:4. Accordingly, deriding those who are clothed in luxurious garments, He says in the gospel: 'Lo they who live in gorgeous apparel and luxury are in earthly palaces.' Luke 7:25 He also says in perishable palaces, where are love of display, love of popularity, and flattery and deceit." 1

When one considers the myriads of mythical legends of the heathen Gods that were current in the third century, it is a great task involving many practical applications to disabuse the minds of the day of their follies and then on the other hand lead them into the truth - the "new song" of the Logos.

1. Ibid, p. 259.

Clement conceives of the Instructor demonstrating the folly of Idolatry and the pagan mysteries, the horror of the pagan sacrifice. The Instructor helps to make it clear that the Greek poets and philosophers only guessed at the truth, while the prophets set forth a direct way to salvation. The Divine Logos speaks in his own person to awaken all that is good in the soul of man and to lead it to immortality. A foundation in the knowledge of divine truth is layed down. Not only has the Instructor been instrumental in the very creation of his creatures but He has also

...trained Him by His word to adoption and salvation, directing him by sacred precepts; in order that, transforming earth-born man into holy and heavenly being by His advent, He might fulfil to the uttermost that divine utterance, Let us make man in our own image and likeness.¹

It is interesting to note the methods used by the Instructor to accomplish His saving purposes. Clement says that the Teacher used admonition for that is the censure of a loving care and in the end produces understanding. This is His work when he says in the Gospel, "How often would I have gathered you, as a hen gathers her young ones under her wing, and ye would not." There are other times when the methodology required is upbraiding. This the Instructor must do in order that

1. Ibid., p.181.

that which is base may be censured and in time to conciliate in the direction of that which is lovely and noble. Is this not shown by Jeremiah: "They were female-made horses, each one neighed after his neighbor's wife. Shall I not visit for these things? Shall not my soul be avenged for these things? saith the Lord: shall not my soul be avenged on such a nation as this?" Again Christ made complaint which was an expression against those who could be regarded as despicable or neglectful—those who were acquainted with Christian ideals but even in the face of this were like the ox and the ass, stupid and foolish animals without the realization who fed them. Such individuals were found to be irrational and complained against. One mode of treatment was what Clement calls the invective which was a reproachful upbraiding or a chiding censure. He uses the very vast mordant of fear in each case oppressing the people, and at the same time turning them to salvation. The whole process is comparable to the wool that is undergoing the process of dying which must previously be treated with mordants in order for it to be prepared for taking on a fast color. Occasionally, reproof is the remedial measure. A specific sin is set out and laid before the individual. The terrible consequences and results are pointed out. This form of instruction is in the highest degree necessary by reason of the feebleness

of the faith of many. Some persons require the process of the Instructor in what might be called bringing one back to his senses. ~~He~~ is aroused, causing a man to think, be cautious, exercise his keenest judgment. There were cases in which the discipline resolved itself into a "visitation" which came as a severe rebuke. The Word, by the forces of circumstances, ^{is} compelled to become denunciatory - comparable to a strong medicine required to bring a drastic remedy. Accusations were made against the wrongdoers. This mode of instruction He employs by David in Psalm 18: "The people whom I knew not severed me, and at the hearing of the ear obeyed me. Sons of strangers lied to me, and halted from their ways." And of these methods the Instructor used because:

"It is the prerogative of goodness to save. 'The mercy of the Lord is on all flesh, while He reproves, corrects, and teaches as a shepherd His flock. He pities those who receive His instruction and those who eagerly seek union with Him' Nahum 3:4 And with such guidance He guarded the six hundred thousand footmen that were brought together in the hardness of heart in which they were found; scourging, pitying, striking, healing, in compassion and discipline, 'For according to the greatness of His mercy, so is His rebuke Eccles. 16:12'".

Because the Instructor endeavors to bring mankind to a

1. Clement, The Instructor, The Ante-Nicene Christian Library, Vol. 4, p. 164

higher level, it resides within His prerogatives to administer punishment. So with all of His power, therefore, the Instructor of humanity, the Divine Word, uses all the resources of wisdom, devotes Himself to the saving of the children, admonishing, upbraiding, blaming, chiding, reproving, threatening, healing, promising, favoring. And as it were, by many reins, He must curb the irrational impulses of humanity. The Lord is in a position in which He must act like parents toward their children.

"'Hast Thou children? correct them,' is the exhortation of the book of Wisdom, 'and bend them from their youth. Hast thou daughters? Attend their body, and let not thy face brighten towards them.' - although we love our children exceedingly, both sons and daughters, above aught else whatever. For those who speak with a man merely to please him, have little love for him, seeing they do not pain him; while those that speak for his good, though they inflict pain, for the time, do him good forever after. It is not immediate pleasure but future enjoyment that the Lord has in view." ¹

Beyond the office of being the Instructor of mankind Clement sees in Christ all Wisdom, knowledge and truth and all else that has affinity thereto. Christ for him becomes the circle of all powers rolled and united into one unity. He is susceptible of demonstration and description. All the powers of the Spirit, becoming collectively one thing, terminate at one point - in the personage of Jesus, the Son.

1. Ibid.

This Christ is capable of being declared in the matter of each one of His powers. The Son is neither simply one thing as one thing, nor merely many things as parts, but he is to be considered as all things, whence he is all things. Wherefore Christ becomes the Alpha and the Omega, of whom alone the end becomes the beginning, and ends again at the original beginning without any break.

Perhaps the best summary that can be made of the Person and work of Christ is stated by Clement in his "Exhortation to the Heathen"

It is not without divine care that so great a work was accomplished in so brief a space by the Lord, who, though despised as to appearance, was in reality adored, the expiator of sin, the Savior, the element, the Divine Word, He that is truly most manifest Deity, He that is made equal to the Lord of the universe, because He was his son, and the Word was in God, not disbelieved in by all when He was first preached, nor altogether unknown when, assuming the character of man, and fashioning Himself in flesh, He enacted the drama of human salvation: for He was a true champion and a fellow-champion with the creature. And being communicated most speedily to men, having dawned from his father's counsel quicker than the sun, with the most perfect ease He made God shine on us. When He was and what He was He showed by what He taught and exhibited, manifesting Himself as the Herald of the Covenant, the Reconciler, our Savior, the Word, the fount of life, the giver of peace, diffused over the whole face of the earth; by whom so to speak, the universe has already become an ocean of blessing.¹

1. Clement, Exhortation to the Heathen, The Ante Nicene Christian Library, Vol. 4, p. 98.

Thus it was that Clement saw in Christ the great Instructor whose work it was to educate, and liberate mankind to the life of true freedom. Being God and true man he ever guided men to a saving course of conduct and was in himself all that man should become.

CHAPTER III

THE ANTHROPOLOGY OF CLEMENT

There are a number of references found in Clement's writings which stress the idea that man has been created in the likeness of God.

"The view I take is, that He Himself formed man from the dust, and regenerated him by water; and made him grow by His Spirit, and trained him by His word to adoption and salvation, directing him by sacred precepts; in order that, transforming earth-born man into holy and heavenly being by His advent, He might fulfil to the uttermost that divine utterance, 'Let us make man in our image and likeness.'"¹

Clement is at one with the early Christian writers in making a distinction between the image and the likeness of God. Clement maintained that a man never loses the image of God, but since the likeness consists in moral resemblances, he may lose the likeness, and may recover it only when he becomes righteous, holy, and wise.

"It is time for us to say that the pious Christian alone is rich and wise, and of noble birth, and thus call and believe him to be God's image, and also his likeness, having become righteous and holy and wise by Jesus Christ, and so far already

1. Clement, The Instructor - The Ante-Nicene Christian Library, Vol. 4, p. 181

by the prophet, when he says, "I said that ye are gods, and all the songs of the Highest" (Psalm 6).¹

Clement is very definite in his insistence on the likeness of God in humanity in moral resemblances. The image of God is in the man who does good and in the man who is in the process of getting better. It is a mistake to think of the image and likeness as conforming to bodily likenesses for it is wrong that a mortal should make material things like that which is immortal. Clement did see the resemblances in the mind and reason.

After having spoken of the things of Homer that have to do with adultery, he speaks of the Christians as those differing because they bore a likeness of God - a likeness which dwelt within them, took counsel with them, associated with them, was a guest with them and felt with them and for them.

Closely associated with the idea of the likeness and image of God dwelling in man is the doctrine of the indwelling deity - of the Logos, as constitutionally or organically related to the human soul. This is certainly one of the principles which stand out most clearly in the theology of Clement. No other writer in the ancient church has stressed this truth with so much clearness, or insisted upon its im-

1. Clement, The Exhortation to the Heathen, The Ante-Nicene Christian Library, Vol. 4, p. 109.

portance as the ground of faith in God or of the hope for man. The image of God in man is a spiritual endowment of humanity which is capable of expressing the inmost essence or character of God. And as has already been said, this image is a moral or spiritual image, containing as it were, the germ, the highest and divinest qualities as they exist in God. Because man's spiritual constitution is made after a divine type, it becomes the law of his being to fulfill its possibilities and to rise to a full resemblance to God. Indeed the image of God in everyman constitutes the warrant for believing that he may rise from the possibility into the actuality, that the image may develop into a living and speaking resemblance. It is because man is made in the divine image that his nature responds to the call of God, and his conscience re-echoes the commandments of God. But the law of God, according to such a view, is not conceived as a code of external commandments - it is to be written in the heart of man. And it is Christ dwelling in man that changes the individual.

"But the man with whom the word dwells does not alter himself, does not get himself up. He has the form which is of the Word; he is made like to God; he is beautiful; he does not ornament himself; His is beauty, the true beauty, for it is God; and that man becomes God, since God so wills, Heraclitus, then, rightly said, 'Men are Gods, and gods are men.' For the Word Himself is the manifest mystery. God in man and man in God. The Mediator executes the

Father's will: for the Mediator is the Word, who is common to both - the Son of God, the Savior of men; His servant our Teacher."¹

Because of man's being made in the image of God, Clement does not look upon the tendencies within a man as evil. Rather, whatever things are natural to men are not to be eradicated from them, but there should be limits placed upon these native tendencies and they should be confined to suitable times. For example Clement in speaking upon the subject of laughing goes on to say that because man has the ability to laugh he is not to laugh on all occasions because he has the ability to do so, anymore than a horse would neigh on all occasions because he is a neighing animal. As a rational being a man should regulate himself suitably in all matters. A man is to regulate his life harmoniously, relaxing the austerity and over-tension of his serious pursuits. Because man has a divine constitution the religious life becomes essentially an education under the guidance of the Immanent Deity. The idea of this education presupposes a capacity and ability on the part of man to receive and follow instruction. To educate was to truly educate and develop the powers already implanted within the soul.

Because of man's being constitutionally related to God anything like a catastrophic conversion experience would not have a place in the thinking of Clement. He saw no

broken relationship between God and humanity that needed to be restored or readjusted in any way. Regeneration in the life of a man for Clement was rather a revelation or realization of a too often obscured relationship with and dependence upon God. Humanity in the light of the incarnation appears as constitutionally allied with its maker, as in its inmost being loveable and therefore loved by God. Man in coming to some definite recognition of his duties and obligations of obedience carries with it a discovery of Him who in love guides men to the life that is best. Within the heart of a man the Divine Teacher speaks and those who will respond will come to the forgiveness of sin.

Clement has an interesting interpretation of psychology. Man is made up of these three things, habits, actions, passions. Habits are the department which is appropriated by hortatory discourse which guides to the pious life. All actions are the province of the preceptive discourse. The passions are healed by persuasive discourses.¹

The soul consists of three divisions, the intellect, which is called the reasoning faculty, is the inner man, which is the ruler of the man that is seen. And

1. Ibid, p. 113

that one, in another respect, God guides. But the irascible part, being brutal, dwells near to insanity. The appetite, which is the third department, is many shaped above Proteus, the varying Sea-God, who changed himself into one shape, now into another; and it allures to adulteries, to licentiousness, to seductions. Passions break out, pleasures overflow: beauty fades, and falls quicker than the leaf on the ground, when the amorous storms of lust flow on its before the coming of Autumn, and is withered by destruction.¹

This brief statement of his more general approach to psychology, leads to a consideration of the point of view of Clement on the subject of the freedom of the will of man. Clement regards the freedom of the will to follow out the divine purpose which is the law of man's being. The free will, which Clement held in common with the Greek fathers, was not a temporary expedient in their thought to meet the fatalism of the gnostic theories, it was a necessary principle flowing from the importance assigned to the primary truth that man was created in the divine image. However much that image might have been obscured by human sinfulness, it still existed in its original endowment, and the work of Christ had consisted in revealing man to himself, in making known to him the divine constitution of his being, as well as presenting the nature and character of God. The freedom of the will was not the freedom of a being independent of God or detached from him, but rather allied to him by his inmost

1. Clement, *The Stromata*, The Ante Nicene Christian Library, Vol. 12, p. 38

constitution and therefore retaining the capacity, through all the vicissitudes of his career or fulfilling his appointed destiny.

It naturally follows then that sin is voluntary in Clement's conception.

What is voluntary is either what is by desire, or what is by choice, or what is of intention. Closely allied to each other are these things - sin, mistake, crime. It is a sin for instance to live luxuriously and licentiously; the misfortune to wound one's friend in ignorance, taking him for an enemy; and crime to violate graves or commit sacrilege. Sinning arises from being unable to determine what ought to be done, or being unable to do it; as doubtless one falls into a ditch either through not knowing, or inability - to leap across through feebleness of body. But application to the training of ourselves, and subjection to the commandments, is in our power; with which if we having nothing to do, by abandoning ourselves wholly to lust, we shall sin, nay rather wrong our own soul. Mistake is a sin contrary to calculation; and voluntary sin is crime; and crime is voluntary wickedness. Sin is then, on my part voluntary.¹

We now turn our attention to Clements view of the body.

We see immediately that he followed the Greek thought in this respect. Those who ran down the created existence of man and vilified the body, he considered as having erred because they did not consider that the frame of man was formed erect for the contemplation of heaven, and that the organization of the senses tended to knowledge, and because all the members and parts are arranged for good, and not

1. Ibid.

for pleasure. The body is held sacred because it becomes a receptacle of the soul which is most precious to God; and it is dignified with the Holy Spirit through the sanctification of soul and body, perfected with the perfection of the Saviour.

Further, Clement recognized that eternal things ~~and the~~ body have their effects upon the soul of a man. He would never agree with such an idea that the soul is to be saved and the body maltreated or disregarded - if indeed such a thing could ever be done. When pain is present, the soul appears to decline from it and yearns for a release from pain. Pain often causes individuals to slacken from studies or a deeper nature or virtues of life may be neglected. And yet he did not say that virtue is always affected by disease. Sometimes it has worked to the good of individuals. Clement held that evil can never be the efficient cause of good. It is with a sense of satisfaction that he quotes Aristotle's point of view "that to be in good health is the best thing, and the second best thing is to be handsome; and the third thing is to be rich without cheating."¹ It is apparant at once that Clement would have had no sympathy with the loathsome ascetic practices of later centuries.

1. Ibid.

It is most interesting to note his modernity in his conception of poverty. There is no virtue in being poor. Just to be poor as an objective in itself is a misconception of the basic elements necessary to maintaining the Christian life. Poverty compels the soul to desist from many things which are necessary materials to the good life. The poverty-stricken individual must give his complete attention to gaining provisions, hence, he cannot spend much time in contemplation of the love of God. The cruel facts of life for the undisciplined soul make anything like a bright vision of the God of goodness as a dim unreality. In other words, Clement could not see how that it was possible to live life in any creative fashion without having at least a minimum of material resources.

"... as, again health and abundance of necessities keep the soul free and unimpeded, and capable of making a good use of what is at hand. 'For,' as says the Apostle, 'Such have trouble in the flesh. But I spare you. For I would have you without anxiety, in order to decorum and assiduity for the Lord, without distraction.' 1 Cor.7:28,32,35 ... These things, then are to be abstained from, not for their own sakes, but for the sake of the body, to which it has reference. For on this account it is necessary for the man who lives as a gnostic to know what is suitable." 1

A high order of propriety in reference to the body is

1. Ibid., p. 148

advocated by Clement. Men and women going to church are to be decently dressed. Decency demands that a woman's body be entirely covered, unless she is at home. A woman will live modestly and not dress in any suggestive manner. It may be observed that on this point Clement is not modern. Evidently Clement was a lover of simplicity.

What are we to imagine ought to be said of love of ornament, and dyeing of wool, and variety of colors, and fastidiousness about gems, and exquisite working of gold, and still more, of artificial hair and wreathed curls, and furthermore, of staining the eyes, and plucking out hairs, and painting with rouge and white lead, and dyeing of the hair, and the wicked acts that are employed in such deception. I admire that ancient city of the Lacedaemonians which permitted harlots alone to wear flowered clothes and ornaments of gold, interdicting respectable women from love of ornament and allowing courtesans alone to deck themselves.¹

From the thought of Clement concerning the body and material aspects of life, let us try to gain some knowledge of his conception of the nature of sin. Clement's definition of sin is quite clear. Sin is irrationality. Everything that is contrary to right reason is sin. He regarded ignorance as the mother of sin and found, then, revelation as a light, a divine remedy. It is to be said, in fairness, that he does not exclusively view ignorance as the only difficulty to be overcome in the redemptive process. Ignorance of the

1. Clement, The Instructor, The Ante-Nicene Christian Library, Vol. 12, p. 256.

right and also unwillingness to follow the right would more completely state the case. Lust is desire disobedient to the reason. Fear is weakness disobedient to reason. Pleasure is an elation of the spirit disobedient to reason. It is interesting to note that Clement identifies the irrationality of man in general with the irrationality of Adam's.

"If disobedience in reference to reason is the generating cause to sin, how shall we escape the conclusion, that obedience to reason - the Word - which we call faith, will be of necessity the efficacious cause ~~of~~ duty. Since, then, the first man sinned and disobeyed God, it is said, 'Man became like the beasts' (Psalm 49), being rightly regarded as irrational, he is likened to the beasts. Whence wisdom says: 'The horse for covering; the libidinous and the adulterer is become like an irrational beast.' (Eccles. 33:6) Wherefore it is added: 'He neighs, whoever may be sitting upon him.' The man, it is meant, no longer rational but an irrational animal, given up to lusts by which he is ridden as a horse by his rider." ¹

Christian conduct, then, becomes the activities of a rational soul in accordance with a correct judgment and inspiration after the truth, which attains its desired ends through the body, the soul's consort and ally.

Upon the origin of evil Clement has no speculations, unless one attempts to give undue prominence to a few unimportant references. Attention has already been called to his allusion to Adam's irrational behavior which he said was akin to the irrationality of later centuries. However,

1. Clement, The Instructor, The Ante-nicene Christian Library, Vol. 4, p. 184.

Clements knows nothing of the later dogma of the fall of man in man, nor of Adam as the federal representative of mankind. As one comes to an understanding of Clement it does not seem as though such ideas would have commended themselves to his thought, as explaining the nature or the source of human sinfulness. He sees, rather, in Christ the normal man, the true head and center of humanity. In all of his references to sin, Clement, does not lose sight of his thesis that man is constituted after the divine image. Nevertheless, man for various causes has become fettered by sin as Clement says.

Man when in paradise, sported free, because he was a child of God; but when he succumbed to pleasure (for the serpent allegorically signifies pleasure crawling on its belly, earthly wickedness nourished for fuel to the flames), as a child seduced by lusts, and grew old in disobedience, and by disobeying his Father, dishonored God. Such was the influence of pleasure. Man, that had been free by reason of simplicity, was found fettered to sins. The Lord then wished to release him from his bonds, and clothing himself with flesh - O Divine Mystery! - vanquished the serpent, and enslaved the tyrant death, and most marvelous of all, man that had been deceived by pleasure, and bound fast to corruption, had his hands unloosed, and was set free. O mystic wonder. The Lord was laid low, and man, and man rose up, and he that fell from paradise receives as the reward of obedience something greater (than Paradise) namely heaven itself.¹

Man who is by nature an erect and majestic being, aspiring after the good as becomes the creatures of God, has become corrupted by a lack of frugality. Delicacies spent

1. Clement, Exhortation to the Heathen, Op. Cit., p. 100

on pleasures become a dangerous shipwreck to men. For this reason many lives become voluptuous and ignoble and are in the end completely alien to true love for the beautiful and to refined pleasure. Man contrary to the finer that is a part of him crawls in the lowest pursuits which are destitute of dignity and are scandalous, hateful and ridiculous. Love of wealth draws a man from the right mode of life, and induces him to cease from feeling shame at what is really shameful. Only such an individual desires the ability - to eat all sorts of things, to drink in like manner, and to satiate in everyway his lewd desires. So rarely can such a man inherit the kingdom of God. Such live life as though it were a display. So to this end they collect many cup-bearers, when they might satisfy themselves with one. For what are the chests of clothes and the gold ornaments? Those things are prepared for those who steal clothes, and scoundrels and greedy eyes.

From all of the errors of men's ways Clement in a most gentle manner calls people to a new appreciation of their divine nature:

Come, come, O my young People! For if you become not again as little children, and be born again, as saith the Scriptures, you shall not receive the truly existent Father, nor shall you ever enter the kingdom of heaven. For in what way is a stranger permitted to enter? Well, as I take it, then, when he is enrolled and made a citizen and receives one

to stand to him in relation of father, then will he be occupied with the Father's concerns, and then shall he be deemed worthy to be made His heir and then will he share the kingdom of the Father with His own dear Son. For this is the first-born church, composed of many good children; these are the first-born enrolled in heaven, who hold high festival with so many myriad angels. We too are first-born sons, who are reared by God, who use the genuine friends of the First-born, who first of all other men attained to the knowledge of God, who first were wrenched away from their sins, first severed from the devil and now the more benevolent God is, the more impious men are, for he desires us from slaves to become sons, while they scorn to become sons.¹

In conclusion, we turn our attention to Clement's conception of Christian piety. What is the pious person like? For Clement piety is a process of education or instruction. It is becoming skilled in the service of God and becoming trained in the knowledge of the truth. It is a high guidance that one pursues here and which ultimately leads to heaven. Clement has made a place for all degrees of Christian achievement. The most enlightened Christian has an insight into the perfect mysteries - of man, nature, and the virtue which a Christian of lesser attainments accepts without such clear insight. And, as has been said elsewhere, Clement places a high estimate on the moral worth of Christian knowledge. Here it must be remembered that he

1. Clement, Exhortation to the Heathen, The Ante-Nicene Christian Library, Vol. 4, p. 80

praises not a kind of sterile knowledge but a knowledge which turns to love. It is this type of Christian perfection which he greatly extols. This type of Christian he sometimes refers to as the "true gnostic" whom Clement loves to describe as leading a life of unalterable calm. The perfect Christian leads a life of utter devotion. The love which he bears in his heart prompts him to live always in closest union with God by prayer, to labor for the conversion of souls, to love his enemies, and to endure martyrdom itself. There is in Clement a high sense of the appreciation that God superintends the lives of His own. His faith reaches a tenor note quite similar to the Twenty-Third Psalm.

He who has the Almighty-God, the Word, is in want of nothing, and never is in straits for what he needs. For the word is a possession that wants nothing, and is the cause of all abundance. If one say that he has often seen the righteous man in need of food, this is rare, and happens only where there is not another righteous man. Notwithstanding let him read what follows: 'For the righteous man shall not live by bread alone, but by the word of the Lord' who is the true bread, the bread of the heavens. The good man, then, can never be in difficulties so long as he keeps in intact, his confession toward God. For it appertains to him to ask and to receive whatever he requires the Father of all, and to enjoy what is his own, if he keeps the Son. And this appertains to him, to feel no want.¹

1. Clement, The Instructor, The Ante-Nicene Christian Library, Vol. 4, p. 302.

CHAPTER IV

CLEMENT'S IDEA OF SOTERIOLOGY

It might be said that the history of man's redemption according to Clement's conception, is the education of the tuition of the indwelling deity. The Divine Teacher, whom he has portrayed in his Instructor, is, he tells us with constant reiteration, no other than God himself. One can imagine that he had in view, as he wrote it, the prophetic language of Plato: "We must wait for one, be it a God or a God-inspired man, who will teach us our religious duties and take away the darkness from our eyes." But the reality in Clement's view, surpassed the prophecy and the anticipation. Such a divine Saviour had come in the flesh and dwelt amongst us in visible form; but in His spiritual, His almost real presence as the essential Christ, He remained here forever as the teacher of humanity, nor had there been a time since the world began when He was not present to superintend the education of the race. It was He who spoke through Moses and the prophets, and it was He who spoke in Greek philosophy. In the progressive education of humanity, He even gave the sun and moon to be worshipped, in order that man might not be atheistical; in order, also, that they

might rise through the lower worship to something higher.¹ He is not the teacher of a few only in some favored time or place, but He comes to all, at all times and everywhere. He is Savior of all, for all men are His; "some with the consciousness of what He is to them, others not as yet; some as friends, others as faithful servants; others as barely servants."² As their teacher, He educates the enlightened by the inward intuition of truth, the believers by good hopes, and those who are hard of heart by corrective discipline through operations that be^{can}₁ felt.

The Instructor being practical, not theoretical, His aim is thus to improve the soul and to train it up to a virtuous, not an intellectual life, although His word is didactic. It is the province of the Word to explain and teach in the matters of doctrine. Our Educator being practical, first exhorts to the attainment of right dispositions and character, and persuades us to the energetic practice of our duties, enjoining on us pure commandments, and exhibiting to such as come after representations of those who formerly wandered in error.

1. Clement, Stromata, Ante-Nicene Christian Library, Vol.12, p. 368.

2. Ibid., p. 409.

Both are of the highest utility - that which assumes the form of counselling to obedience, and that which is presented in the form of example; which latter is of two kinds, corresponding to the former duality, the one having for its purpose that we should choose and imitate the good, and the other that we should reject and turn away from the opposite.¹

Hence it is that there ensues the healing of our passions, in consequence of the assuagements of those examples. The Paedagogue strengthens our souls, and by his benign commands, as by a gentle medicine, guides the sick to a perfect knowledge of the truth.

One finds throughout the works of Clement that the Instructor has a diversity of means to accomplish His educational processes in the individual. For instance, the Instructor employs the means of judgments and penalties as a methodology, of education. That is to say that the unbeliever who will not heed exhortation, or the believing Christian who still cherishes the inclination to sin, must experience the severity of God. We can see that this judgment is not conceived as the final assize of the universe in some remote future, but it is a present continuous element in the process of human education. The purpose of the judgment as of all divine penalties, is always of a remedial character.² Judgment centers very definitely into the work

1. Clement, The Instructor, Ante-Nicene Christian Library, Vol. 4, p. 114.

2. Clement, The Stromata, Ante-Nicene Christian Library, Vol. 4, p. 466

of redemption as a constructive factor. God does not teach in order that he may finally judge, but he judges that he may teach. The censures, the punishments, the judgments of God are a necessary element of the educational processes in the life of humanity, and the motive which underlies them is goodness and love. They are at the disposal of a divine Instructor, who orders the course of the external world for a beneficent end, who has attested His love by coming into the world and dying for men.¹ There is no essential difference between justice and goodness; justice resolves itself into love, even the divine angle - if it is proper to so term it - is full of love to man for whose sake God became incarnate. To God alone it belongs to consider, and his case is to see the way and manner in which the life of men may be made more healthy.²

Clement sees God concerning himself with this kind of a redemptive process in the Old Testament. It is from this source that he goes on to point out how God has dealt in divers ways to bring men to salvation. Here he says is manifested the God who exhorts to salvation as he had ever done, using signs and wonders in Egypt and the desert, both by the

1. Clement, The Instructor, Ante-Nicene Christian Library, Vol. 4, p. 181.

2. Ibid., p. 183.

bush and the cloud, which, through the favor of divine love, attended the Hebrews like a hand maiden. By the fear which these incidents inspired, He addressed the half-hearted: while by Moses and Isaiah in a way more appealing to reason, He turns to the Word those who have ears to hear. Sometimes, He upbraids, and sometimes God threatens. Some men he mourns over, and others he addresses with the voice of song, just as a good physician treats some of his patients with cataplasms, some with rubbing, some with fomentations, in one case cuts open with a lancet, in another cauterizes, in another amputates, in order if possible to cure the patient's diseased part or member. The Saviour has many tones of voice.

The Saviour has many methods for the salvation of men; by threatening he admonishes, by upbraiding he converts, by bewailing he pities, by the voice of song he cheers. He spoke by the burning bush, for the men of that day needed signs and wonders.¹

Clement has much to say upon the function of fear as a motive of righteous action. He regards it as indispensable in the life-long process of redemption from the power of sin. Fear is not a quality begotten in man in separateness and isolation from God, for in his view no human soul can escape the divine tuition. It is rather a necessary part of the

1. Clement, Exhortation to the Heathen, Ante-Nicene Christian Library, Vol. 4, p. 23.

divine plan of education, that fear should be planted in man in order to protect him from evils that assault and hurt the soul, as well as those that endanger the body. But if we may so speak, the ultimate objective ground of their saving fear in spiritual things lies in no being, no condition of time or place, save God himself, and always for a disciplinary purpose.¹ In whatever form that fear may be clothed by human imagination, the only reality to be truly feared is God; and he has read rightly the true meaning of fear, who, in the words of St. Paul, works out his own salvation in fear and trembling, because it is God that is working in him, to will and to do of His good pleasure.

However, Clement has a further word to give upon the subject of fear which tends to temper our first conception of his idea. He sees fear displaced by love as a method of the Instructor. Clement goes on to say that no one could teach us more lovingly than Christ². Formerly the older people had an old covenant, and the law disciplined the people with fear. But the Word has appeared and fear is turned to love, and that mystic angel is born - Jesus. This same instructor said, "Thou shalt fear the Lord Thy

1. Clement, Stromata - Ante-Nicene Christian Library, Vol. 12, p. 20.

2. Clement, The Instructor, Ante-Nicene Christian Library, Vol. 4, p. 152.

God." Wherefore also is this enjoined upon us: "Cease from your old works, from your old sins." "Learn to do well." "Depart from evil, and do good." "Thou has loved righteousness, and hated iniquity." This is the new covenant written in the old letter.

It is Clement's idea that the divine instructor follows the analogy of human methods - it appeals to, it evokes and strengthens, the divine that is in man, whose instincts of the soul which yearn after all that is true or beautiful or good. The gracious and benign Instructor of humanity possesses unwearied patience and in accomplishing His task has at His disposal all of the resources of God. His methods vary in the need of the pupil. He overcomes ignorance by setting forth the truth. He meets unwillingness to follow and obey the truth - by threatening, by censure, by discipline, chastisement. He prefers the gentler methods but to be sure He never hesitates to follow severer measures when gentle ones will not avail.

Having given an idea of the means of salvation as described by Clement, let us see what he means by salvation. First of all we notice that redemption is not thought of in terms of restoration or a readjustment of a broken relationship which has always existed, indestructible in its nature, obscured but not obliterated by human ignorance and sin.

Humanity in the light of the incarnation appears as constitutionally allied with its Maker, as in its inmost being loveable and therefore loved by God. Truly to know him who in love guides men to the life that is best, carries with it the recognition of duty and the obligation of obedience. The forgiveness of sin comes as a spiritual law to those who respond to the divine Teacher speaking within the heart. In the life and especially in the death of Christ is the evidence of God's identification with man. The incarnation is in itself the atonement by which God reconciles the world to himself. God in Christ is seen sharing all that is darkest and most bitter in human experience, in order to be the supreme manifestation of his love.¹

We may further note that such a doctrine as a sacrificial expiation for sin as commonly understood finds no place in Clement's view of redemption. There is no necessity that God should be reconciled to man for there is no schism in the divine nature between love and justice which needs to be overcome before love can go forth in free and full forgiveness. The idea that love and justice are distinct attributes of God, differing widely in their operation is regarded by Clement as having its origin in a mistaken conception of

1. Clement, The Instructor, Ante-Nicene Christian Library, Vol. 4, p. 156.

their nature. Justice and love are in reality one and the same attribute. God is most loving when he is most just and most just when he is most loving. Love constitutes the essential quality of man; not the love which in its inferior human manifestations appears as an indulgent weak affection. Love in its highest sense, as that in God which seeks the perfection of all His creatures, and follows them with chastisements for the insurement of its end.

Clement views man as having been enshackled by sin and the role of salvation is the process of setting the man free. He believes that man through his own volition has succumbed to pleasure and therefore he says:

"The first man when in Paradise, sported free, because he was a child of God. But when he succumbed to pleasure (for the serpent allegorically signifies pleasure crawling on its belly, earthly wickedness nourished for fuel to the flames), as a child seduced by lusts, and grew old in disobedience; and by disobeying his Father, dishonored God." 1

Such was the influence of pleasure. Man, that had been set free by reason of his simplicity, was found fettered to sins. The Lord wished to release man from his bonds and clothed himself in flesh. So Clement explains it:

"O Divine Mystery! - vanquished the serpent, and enslaved the tyrant death! and most marvelous of all, man that had been deceived by pleasure, and

1. Clement, Exhortation to the Heathen, Ante-Nicene Christian Library, Vol. 4, p. 100

bound fast to corruption, had his hands unloosed, and was set free O mystic wonder! The Lord was laid low, and man, and man rose up, and he that fell from paradise receives the reward of obedience something greater (than paradise) namely heaven itself." ¹

Christ has brought salvation to mankind at a great price. So he asks the question:

"If eternal salvation were to be sold, for how much O men, would you propose to purchase it? Were one to estimate the value of the whole Pactolus, the fabulous river of Gold, he would not have reckoned up a price equivalent to salvation. Do not, however, faint. You may if you choose, purchase salvation, though of inestimable value with your own resources, love and living faith, which will be reckoned a suitable price. This recompense God cheerfully accepts: 'for we trust in the living God, who is the Saviour of all men, especially of those who believe.'" ²

Clement makes clear the idea that man is not saved by his own ingenuity. Certainly the man in whom the Word dwells does not alter himself, does not get himself up. The individual has a form which is from the Word but he is made like to God. It is through this process that he is beautiful for he does not really ornament himself. It is then that there is beauty, the true beauty, for it is God; and that man in a sense becomes God, since God so wills. Clement goes on to stress the idea of salvation as a unity with God.

1. Ibid, p. 100

2. Ibid, p. 82.

"Let us make haste to salvation, to regeneration; let us who are many haste that we may be brought together in one love, according to the unity of the essential unity; and let us, by being made good, conformably follow after union, seeking after the good Monad. The union of many in one issuing in the production of divine harmony out of a medley of sounds and divisions, becomes one symphony following one choir-leader and teacher, the Word, reaching and resting in the same truth, and crying Abba, Father. This the true utterance of his children, God accepts with gracious welcome - the first fruits he receives from them." ¹

Not only is there the mystical side to the salvation of man but there is moral guidance given by the instructor. For instance such a practical item of conduct as a man's speech is involved in the process of salvation. The Instructor does not permit a person to give utterances to aught unseemly, fortifying us at an early stage against licentiousness. For he is admirable always at cutting out the roots of sins, such as, "Thou shalt not commit adultery." For adultery is the first fruit of lust, which is the evil root. And also in this instance the censures license ^{is inhibited} in names, and thus cuts off the licentiousness intercourse of excess. License in names produces the desire of being indecorous in conduct; and the observance of modesty in names is a training in desistance from lasciviousness.

It is Clement's great desire to bring men to an

1. Clement, Exhortation to the Heathen, Ante-Nicene Christian Library, Vol. p. 84.

approximation of freedom. He has a passion that people should be delivered from enslavement and delivered from swinishness. In his Exhortation to the Heathen he urges them that they shall be the children of Light, raising their eyes and looking upon the light.

"Let us therefore repent, and pass from ignorance unto Knowledge, from foolishness to wisdom, from licentiousness to self-restraint from unrighteousness to righteousness, from Godlessness to God. It is an enterprise of noble daring to take our way to God; and the enjoyment of many other good things is within the reach of the lovers of righteousness, who pursue eternal life, especially those things to which God himself alludes, speaking by Isaiah: 'There is an inheritance for those who serve the Lord.'" ¹

It is Clement's thought that those come to this repentance and forgiveness of sin ought not to go on living a life of sin. For, in addition to the first and only repentance from sin there is forthwith proposed to those who have been called, the repentance which cleanses the seat of the soul from transgressions, that faith may be established. And the Lord, knowing the heart, and foreknowing the future, foresaw both the fickleness of man and the craft and subtlety of the devil from the first, from the beginning. The Lord saw that the devil envying man for the forgiveness of sins, skilfully working mischief, that they might fall together with himself.

1. Ibid., p. 87.

Accordingly, God has granted to those who, though in faith, fall into transgression, a second chance. So that if any one be tempted after his calling, overcome by force and fraud, he may still receive repentance not to be repented of. But continual and successive repeatings for sins differ nothing from the case of those who have not believed at all, except only in their consciousness that they do sin. And Clement says that he cannot conceive which is worse, whether the case of a man who sins knowingly, or of one who, having repented of his sins, transgresses again.

CHAPTER V

THE ECCLESIOLOGY OF CLEMENT OF ALEXANDRIA

Clement does not give any formal definition of the church, nor are his few allusions to the subject of a kind to satisfy those in search of a historical catena by which later notions regarding the church may be supported. The church which Clement portrays has its characteristics although, as we shall see, they rather widely differ from the developments in the succeeding centuries in the church. The chief characteristic of the church is ethical. It is composed of those who have realized their calling as children of God who have put aside evil practices and forsaken wickedness and have entered into the Christian way of life. His conception of the church gives it an organic life. That is to say that it is a community of men who are led by the Divine Logos, an invincible city on the earth which no force can subdue and where the will of heaven is carried out upon the earth. The church is analogous^o to the human being consisting of many members.¹ It is refreshed and grows and is welded and compacted

1. Clement, The Instructor, Ante Nicene Christian Library, V.4, p.140

together. It is fed and sustained by a supernatural life, and becomes in its turn, in the hands of the Divine Instructor, a means of leading humanity to life. The bond of the unity of the church, the secret of its life and growth, is the living personal Christ, whose immanence in humanity is the only force adequate to its deliverance from sin. And here rests its final perfection according to the original purpose of its creation. Such a body is designated "Mother" by Clement.

"The mother draws the children to herself, and we seek our mother the church" ¹

As we see a difference in Clement's general ideals of the church as over against the later church, so it becomes quite obvious that his relationship to heresy was also divergent. We remember that he lived in the area from which most of the heresies proceeded, and was familiar with them in their worst forms. In the midst of all of this his attitude is that faith in the power and the invincibleness of truth. Clement believes in the freest examination and boldly calls upon the heretics themselves to make a deeper investigation of the faith as a remedy for what he believes to be their false opinions. We may notice that he does not fall back upon anything like a creed or rule of faith to be received

1. Ibid., p. 128.

upon external authority of the church or tradition. Further, he does not appeal to any kind of tribunal to cut off the heretics from the communion of the faithful. He differs from some of the early Christian Fathers in that he does not adopt a bitter intolerance and denounce them in extravagant language to show a becoming horror for their tenets. Quite on the contrary one may gather from some of his allusions to the heretics that he regards them as earnest and sincere men in the pursuit of truth. When those outside the church urge the diversity of opinion within its ranks as against joining the Christian Communion, he replies that there are many sects in philosophy, and yet for that reason one does not refuse to philosophise.¹

The Sacraments and the rites of worship do not meet any extensive treatment in the writings of Clement. What is said on these topics is always in the way of incidental allusion rather than of direct exposition. In Clement's thought, the real presence and the divine activity of the living Christ is organically related to the soul, in all times and places, in all conditions and circumstances of life. It is Christ alone that purifies man from sin, leads him to repentance, and prepares him for that supreme moment when, in the waters of baptism, he takes the vow of self

1. Clement, The Stromata, Ante Nicene Christian History, V.12, p.474.

consecration to the divine will. Christ alone everywhere and always gives Himself to humanity as the bread of life. Hence the sacraments become symbols of the great spiritual processes. They are signs effective of an actual purification and an actual sustenance. But the vast spiritual reality is never limited, diminished or materialized by identifying the sign with the thing being signified. The water of baptism is charged with no magical potency. His conception of the efficacy of baptism is seen in his own comments:

We are washed from all our sins and are no longer entangled in evil. This is the one grace of illumination, that our characters are not the same as before our washing. And since knowledge springs up with illumination, shedding the beams around the mind, the moment, the moment we hear, we who were untaught become disciples. Does this, I ask, take place on the advent of this instruction? You cannot tell the time. For instruction leads to faith; and faith with baptism is trained by the Holy Spirit. We, repenting of our sins, renouncing our iniquities, purified by baptism, speed back to the eternal life, children to the Father.¹

In Clement's Soteriology, baptism is decidedly more prominent than redemption by the blood of Christ. Clement says that Christ was perfected by the washing of baptism alone and was sanctified by the descent of the spirit. So he says the same takes place in the case of the Christian. Being baptized is illuminated and having become illuminated the person

1. Clement, The Instructor, The Ante-Nicene Christian Library, Vol. 4, p. 134.

becomes the Son of God and becomes made perfect and enters into immortality. Those sinning after baptism are subject to discipline.

It ought to be known, then, that those who fall into sin after baptism are those who are subject to discipline; the deeds done before are remitted, and those done after are purged.¹

When we contemplate Clement's interpretation of the sacrament of the Lord's Supper we can plainly see that the bread and wine are not transmuted into spiritual power operating as by a mechanical law; the bread and wine stand as metaphors² of the eternal Word of Life conveyed by God in Christ to those who receive it by the many and the diverse channels of approach to which the soul lies open. The idea of sacrifice in the ~~eucharist~~ which the church later claims or the idea that the Holy Communion propitiates the divine favor is foreign to the thinking of Clement.

"Neither by sacrifice or offerings, nor, on the other hand, by glory and honor, is the deity won over, nor is he influenced by any such things"
 "We glory³ Him who gave himself in sacrifice for us, we also sacrificing ourselves." 3

There is in the nature of spiritual things no other sacrifice than that of self to do God's will which man can offer the

1. Clement, The Stromata, Ante Nicene Christian Lib.Vol.12,p.211
2. Clement, The Instructor, Op. Cit., Vol. 4, p. 145.
3. Clement, The Stromata, Ante Nicene Christian Lib.Vol.12,p.416

Eternal. The altar that is with us here on the earth is the congregation of those who devote themselves to prayer, having as it were, one common voice and mind. The sacrifice of the church is the word breathing as incense from holy souls, the sacrifice and the whole mind being at the same time unveiled to God.

Clement saw in the Lord's Supper a means by which the church was brought into Unity.

"The Lord in the Gospel according to John says, 'Eat my flesh and drink my blood' describing by distinct metaphor, the drinkable prophecies of faith and promise by means of which the Church, like a human body consisting of many members, is refreshed and grows, is welded together and compacted of both - of faith, which is the body, and of hope, which is the soul; as also the Lord of flesh and blood. For in reality the blood of faith is hope, in which faith is held as by a vital principle.¹

What is Clement's idea of the Christian ministry? Did he hold to the historic episcopate or apostolic succession? So far as one can gather from the literature of Clement the whole significance of the bishop in determining the truth of ecclesiastical Christianity was completely unknown to him. There is not the slightest evidence that his conception of the church was of hierarchic and anti hierarchical type, so he very rarely mentions the ecclesiastical officials in

1. Clement, The Instructor, Ante Nicene Christian Library, Vol. 4, p. 140.

his work and rarest of all the bishops. In the Instructor he mentions presbyters, bishops, deacons, widows. In another place he speaks of bishops, presbyters, deacons.¹ On the other hand, according to Clement, the true gnostic has an office like that of the Apostles. It appears plain that the servants of the earthly church, as such, have nothing to do with the true church and the heavenly hierarchy. We may conclude from Clement's attitude that the office of a bishop was not at that time esteemed in the Alexandrian church. According to Clement the Gnostic as a teacher has the same significance as is possessed by the bishop in the west and according to him we may speak of a natural succession of teachers. Apostles are to be revered and followed, not so much because they were apostles, but because and in so far as they were able to penetrate into the divine treasures of the Incarnate Word. The true successors of the Apostles are they who like them live perfectly in accordance with the highest reason.

In the life time of Clement, the contagion of a false asceticism was beginning to spread in the church, although its recognition as a principle of the Christian life was still confined to the heretical sects, such as the Montanists

1. Clement, *The Stromata*, Ante Nicene Christian Lib.V.12,p.365

and the Gnostics. In opposition to those who advocated voluntary poverty, or the abandonment of property, by a perversion of the teaching of Christ, Clement reasons that it is the inordinate love of money which the Saviour condemns; that the abuses of riches, not their possessions hurts the soul. What Christ desires is the conversion of the inward man to himself and this can be accomplished by no external procedure. It is God's design that property should be unequally distributed. The Divine education of humanity includes the right use of riches. They use the stewardship of a trust for one's own benefit and that of others. Hence the doctrine of the community of goods appears to controvert the divine will.¹ Clement does not conceive of fasting as consisting in abstinence from meat and wine, Such an idea prevailed in heathen religions and has no essential relationship to Christian culture. Clement would say that there is a fasting which lies not in the mortification of the body or the endeavor to extirpate the physical appetites but in obtaining the mastery over sin. The abstinence from all evil in thought, word, or action - from covetousness and voluptuousness, from which all vices flow. Only true fasting is that which God has appointed - to

1. Ibid., p. 113.

loose the bands of wickedness, to dissolve the knots of oppressive contracts, to let the oppressed go free, to cover the naked, and to shelter the homeless poor. Against those urged the celibate life as preferable in itself, on the ground that greater work could be done for God, or the salvation of the individual soul more perfectly secured, Clement maintained that marriage is a divine ordinance, given to subserve the loftiest purposes of human education and discipline, and not a concession to the flesh. He who is married is more of a man and fitted for a larger work for God, in that he receives thereby the fuller and more complex discipline of life, in his solicitude for wife and children, home and possessions, remaining faithful through all temptation and inseparable from the love of God. In Clement's application of the words of Christ, "There am I in the midst of them," apply to the family where father and mother and children gather together in His name.¹

The principle which made Clement strong to resist the sinister tendencies of asceticism sprang from his idea of God and of his relationship to the world. The world is sacred as a divine creation, - the abode of the indwelling Deity. The human body is the temple of the Holy Spirit,

1. Ibid., p. 116.

and becomes a very sanctuary by consecration to the will of God. The outward world is ordered in the divine purpose for the well being of man. Its beauty is the reflection of a higher, diviner beauty. It belongs to one organic whole, the disowning of which in any part is to distrust God and condemn His wisdom. While the power of self restraint is one of the divinest gifts of God to man, temperance and moderation are to be followed in all things, so that the life of the senses does not entangle and weaken the higher energies of the spirit, yet every creature of God is good and is to be received with thankfulness.

Man, it is true, is in the world as in a pilgrimage. Yet he uses inns and dwellings by the way. He has a care of the things of the world, of the places where he halts. The wise man is willing to leave his dwelling place and property without excessive emotion, give thanks for his sojourn, and blesses God for his departure. So we are all sojourners in the world, but we are also at home in the world. No one is a stranger to the world by nature, for their essence is one, and God is one.

Aceticism for Clement could not be of a helpful nature because external things do not have an effect upon the soul. When pain is present, the soul appears to decline from it, and to deem release from present pain. At that

moment it slackens from studies, when the other virtues also are neglected. And yet, as Clement would say, we do not say that it is virtue itself which suffers for virtue is not affected by disease. But who is partaker of both, of virtue and the disease is affected by the pressure of the latter; and if he who has not yet attained the habit of self command be not a high souled man, he is distraught. The inability to endure it is found equivalent to running away from it.

Certainly Clement does not place a premium upon the ascetic life of poverty. He believed that poverty compelled the soul to desist from necessary things. On the other hand health and the abundance of necessities keep the soul free and unimpeded and capable of making good use of what is at hand. "For" as says the Apostle, "such have trouble in the flesh. But I spare you. For I would have you without anxiety, in order to decorum and assiduity for the Lord, without distraction."¹ Clement held that no evil can be the efficient cause of good. He quotes Simonides who says "that to be in good health is the best thing, and the second thing is to be handsome, and the third thing is to be rich without cheating."²

1. I Corinthians VII 28, 32, 35

2. Clement, The Stromata, Ante-Nicene Christian Lib.V.12, p.148

While Clement did not share in the asceticism of his day, he did regard martyrdom as a high ideal in the church. He also testifies to its prevalence in the church of the time.

The Church is full of those, as well as chaste women as men, who all their lives have courted death which arouses up to Christ. For the individual whose life is framed as ours is, may philosophize without learning, whether barbarian, whether Greek, whether slave - whether an old man, or a boy or a woman. If then one who is judged the most sterling worth is put to death, to the distress of those who have practiced the philosophy, but have not been selected, at being reckoned unworthy of a happy service"¹

In the second century we find communities which did not deny the notion of inspiration to a great number of venerable and ancient writings not rigidly defined, and did not make a selection from a stricter historical point of view until a later date. This can be verified from the accounts of Clement. In the entire literature of the Greeks and barbarians Clement distinguishes between sacred and profane. As he is conscious that all knowledge of truth is based on inspiration, so all writings, that is in all parts, paragraphs, or sentences of writings which contain moral and religious truth are in his view inspired.² This opinion does not exclude a distinction between these writings but rather requires it.

1. Ibid., p. 165.

2. Ibid., p. 138.

The Old Testament, a fixed collection of books is regarded by Clement, as a whole and in all its parts, as the divine, inspired books par excellence. As Clement in theory distinguishes a new covenant from the old, so he distinguishes the books of the new covenant from the old. The books to which he applies the formulas "Gospel" and "Apostles" are likewise viewed by him as inspired, but he does not consider them a fixed collection. Unless all appearances are deceptive, it was, strictly speaking, only the four Gospels that he considered and treated on a level with the Old Testament. The formula, "The Law and the Prophets and the Gospel" is frequently found, and every thing else, even the Apostolic writings, is judged by this group. He does not even consider the Pauline Epistles to be a court of appeal of equal value with the Gospels. A third class that stand in a lower category than the Pauline Epistles are the Epistles of Clement and Barnabas, the Shepherd of Hermas. As to certain books such as the "teaching of the Apostles," "The Kerygma of Peter," it remains doubtful what authority Clement ascribes to them.

This leads us to the conception of revelation which Clement held. According to Clement it was a divine ordering of the world that Greek philosophy should have prepared the way for Christ, and to doubt that it did so would be to

undermine belief in the possibility of a revelation, as well as deny the province of God. Christianity, if the expression may be allowed, grew as directly out of Greek philosophy as out of Hebrew prophecy. The narrow conception that the only prophecy is to be found in the Jewish anticipations of the Messiah, belittles the subject of Divine dealings with humanity. The influence of Hellenic speculation in determining the true nature of the person of Christ is not a thing smuggled surreptitiously in the sphere of Christian thought - an alien element, to be carefully eliminated, if we could understand the original revelation in its simplicity and purity. It enters into the Divine process of preparation for the advent of Christ as a constituent factor. It is essential to a right interpretation of the Christian Idea in its widest and highest application.

Clement does not seem harmonious with the development of later times when a meagre and mechanical notion of divine revelation obscured the earlier apprehensions of its universality. The argument for the divinity of the person of Christ came to rest almost exclusively upon Hebrew prophecy which found in Him their fulfilment - a method which reached its legitimate result in a return to Jewish Deism from which it had derived its inspiration.

The works of Clement are replete with passages which

show how large and free was his conception of the methods of divine revelation.

"To the Jews belonged the law, and to the Greeks philosophy, until the advent, and after that came the universal calling to be a peculiar people of righteousness through the teaching which flows from faith brought together by one Lord, the only God of both Greeks and barbarians, or rather the whole race of men." ¹

"And in general terms we shall not err in alleging that all things necessary and profitable for life came to us from God, and that philosophy more especially was given to the Greeks as a covenant peculiar to them, being a stepping-stone to the philosophy which is according to Christ." ²

"Should anyone say that it was through human understanding that philosophy was discovered by the Greeks. I find the Scriptures saying that understanding is sent by God." ³

"God was the giver of Greek philosophy to the Greeks by which the Almighty is glorified among the Greeks." ⁴

"The Studies of Philosophy therefore, and philosophy itself, are aids in the treating of truth." ⁵

"Before the advent of the Lord, philosophy was necessary to the Greeks for righteousness. And now it becomes conducive to piety; being a kind of preparatory training to those who attain to faith through demonstration - a school master to bring the Hellenic mind, as the law to the Hebrews, to Christ." ⁶

1. Clement, Stromata, Ante Nicene Christian Lib.V.12,p. 399

2. Ibid., p. 342

3. Ibid., p. 340

4. Ibid., p. 343

5. Ibid., p. 356

6. Ibid., p. 366

"By reflection and direct vision among the Greeks who have philosophized correctly see God." 1

"In the whole universe all the parts, though differing from one another, preserve their relation to the whole. So then the barbarian (Jewish) and Hellenic philosophy has torn off a fragment of eternal truth from the theology of the everliving Word. And he who brings together the separate fragments and makes them one, will, without peril, contemplate the perfect Word, the truth." 2

Because Deity indwelt in humanity, and the human reason partook, by its very nature, of that which was divine, Clement was forced to see the highest products of reason the fruit of divine revelation. He makes no distinction between natural and revealed religion, between what man discovers and God reveals. All that is true and well said in Greek philosophy was truly given by divine revelation, as was the moral truth proclaimed by Jewish legislators and prophets. In the higher activities of human thought and reflection is only the process by which the revelation of truth is conveyed to man.³ Inspiration is the God-given insight which enables man to read aright the truth which God reveals.

Clement saw that the purpose of the Bible was to overcome all kinds of evils.

1. Ibid., p. 415

2. Ibid., p. 389

3. Ibid., Exhortation to the Heathen, Vol. 4, p. 65.

"What is the desire of this instrument - the Word of the Lord God, the New Song - desire? To open the eyes of the blind, and unstop the ears of the deaf, to lead the lame or the erring to righteousness, to exhibit God to the foolish, to put a stop to corruption, to conquer death, to reconcile disobedient children to their father. The instrument of God loves mankind. The Lord pities, instructs, exhorts, admonishes, saves, shields, and of his bounty promises us the kingdom of heaven as a reward for learning; and the only advantage he reaps is, that we are saved. For wickedness feeds on man's destruction; but truth, like the bee, harming nothing, delights only in the salvation of man." 1

Clement expresses the idea that the divine Scriptures and the institutions of wisdom form the short road to salvation. Devoid of embellishment, of outward beauty of diction, of wordiness and seductiveness, they raise up humanity strangled by wickedness. They teach men to despise the casualties of life; and with one and the same voice remedying many evils. They at once dissuade us from pernicious deceit and clearly exhort us to the attainment of salvation set before us. 2

1. Ibid., p. 21

2. Ibid., p. 76

CHAPTER VI

THE ESCHATOLOGY OF CLEMENT

The subject of last things does not loom nearly so large as the other aspects of his theology. This is not by reason of his neglect of treating such tenets of faith nor is it because they held no importance for him. It is largely because of his general conception of the whole redemptive process. There is nothing catastrophic about any of it. God was not to work at some future event or place quite as much as the fact that He was already in this world working through the Instructor ever leading mankind into the imperishable life. In no sense can this early Christian Father be said to be other-worldly. For some such reasons as this Clement has not expanded or elucidated this section of his faith.

In regard to the future life there is not a great abundance of references. Either he was not supremely interested in this question which could not be completely solved or else he wishes to avoid the sphere of mere opinion and is interested in the thought which pertains to the theme of redemption as calling out and satisfying the highest

energies of the soul. The opinion once held so generally, especially among Jewish Christians, and still prevailing among the Christians of the West in Clement's own time that Christ was soon to make a second personal appearance in the flesh, in order to introduce a millenium for the faithful and to take vengeance upon his adversaries, is to his mind irrational, for it contradicts his supreme conviction that the essential spiritual Christ is already here in the fulness of his exalted might, and has already begun to witness his triumph. "At the right of the Father". The judgment of the world is not fixed as some event in future time, but as now forming part, an integral part, of the process by which the human race is educated under its divine Instructor. The motives and the sanctions of the higher spiritual life are not the rewards of the future bliss. In reality the service and the following of God for His own sake is the incentive and the satisfaction of a true Christian who has enlight^{EN}ment.

"But he who obeys the mere call, as he is called, neither for fear, nor for enjoyments, is on his way to knowledge. For he does not consider whether any extrinsic lucrative gain or enjoyment follows to him; but drawn by him who is the true object of love, and lead to what is requisite, practises piety. So that not even were we to suppose him to receive from God leave to do things forbidden with impunity; not even if he were to get the promise that he would receive as a reward the good things of the blessed; but besides, not even if he could persuade himself that God would be hoodwinked with reference to what he does

(which is impossible), would he ever wish to do contrary to right reason, having once made choice of what is truly good and worthy choice of his own account, and therefore to be loved. For it is not in the food of the belly that we have heard good to be situated. But he has heard that 'meat will not commend us (I Cor.viii:8), nor marriage, nor abstinence from marriage in ignorance; but virtuous gnostic conduct. For the dog, which is an irrational animal, may be said to be continent, dreading as it does the uplifted stick, and therefore keeping away from the meat. But let the predicted promise be taken away, and the threatened dread cancelled, and the impending danger removed, and the disposition of such people will be revealed."¹

Further, Clement did not accept the opinion regarding the resurrection, which was received in the West and sustained by Tertullian, that the identical flesh of the body which had been laid in the grave would be reanimated. The resurrection was the standing up again in immortal life. It was not the same body, but a reclothing in some higher form of the purified spirit. The future life is conceived as existing in different stages of blessedness on the principle of a progressive development. "The Soul is not sent down from heaven to what is worse. For God works all things up to what is better"². The beneficent work of the Saviour is not restricted by any accidents of time or space, but he operates to save at all times and everywhere in many ways for purifi-

1. Clement, The Stromata, Ante-Nicene Christian Library, Vol. 12, p. 207.

2. Ibid., p. 217.

cation and repentance, how much more should there be after death. No limits or no end can be put to the inventiveness and resourcefulness of the redemptive activities of our Lord. Such an agency certainly is not inhibited by the occurrence of the cessation of physical existence.¹ It may be that Clement had limited notions of the immensity of the universe, as modern astronomy has revealed it, but even had he known all that we know, one cannot help but think that this would not have shaken his faith in the doctrine of the incarnation, - that the insignificance of this planet among the millions of the spheres would have been no reason why God could not have walked in it in human form. Clement's belief in the inherent worth of the individual soul, as constituted after the divine image would not allow him to succumb to the thought that man was created practically an animal only, with the possibility attached of sometime receiving an immortal spirit in virtue of his own exertions; or, on the other hand that any soul would continue forever to resist the force of redeeming love. Somehow and somewhere, in the long run of the ages, that love must prove mightier than sin and death and vindicate its power in one universal triumph.

In Clement we find there is a fragment of the idea of

1. Ibid., p. 150.

of a purgatory. He says that the Lord preached the gospel to those in Hades. Accordingly the Scripture says, "Hades says to Destruction, we have not seen his form, but we have heard his voice." It seems that the passage to which Clement alludes at this particular juncture is Job 28:27 "Destruction and death say, we have heard the fame thereof with our ears." Clement says that it is not completely clear who they were in Hades who heard the voice of Christ. However, he does believe that it is they who have abandoned themselves to destruction, as persons who have thrown themselves voluntarily from a ship into the sea.

It was requisite, in my opinion, that as here, so also there, the best of the disciples should be imitators of the Master; so that they should bring to repentance those belonging to the Hebrews, and they the gentiles; those, who lived in righteousness according to the law and philosophy, who had ended life not perfectly but sinfully. For it was suitable to the divine administration, that those possessed of greater worth in righteousness, and those whose lives have been pre-eminent, on repenting of their transgressions, though found in another place, yet being confessedly of the number of the people of God Almighty, should be saved, each one according to his individual knowledge. And, as I think, the Saviour also exerts His might because it is His work to save; which accordingly He did by drawing to salvation those who became willing by the preaching of the gospel, to believe on Him, wherever they were.¹

While Clement speaks but sparingly of the personifica-

1. Clement, The Stromata, The Ante-Nicene Christian Library, Vol. 12, p. 329

fication of evil in terms of a personal devil, yet there are occasions when the idea comes to the form. The following is an example of his thought. That all future ideas of the devil from his time on can be read into this conception, I am not at all convinced.

For that wicked reptile monster, by his enchantments enslaves and plagues men even until now; inflicting, as it seems to me, such barbarous vengeance upon them as those who are said to bind captives to corpses till they rot together. This wicked tyrant and serpent, accordingly, binding fast with the miserable chain of superstition whomsoever he can draw to his side from their birth, the stones, and stocks, and images, and such as like idols, may with truth be said to have been taken and buried living. Men with those dead idols, till both suffer corruption together. The seducer is one and the same - he that at the beginning brought Eve down to death, now thither brings the rest of mankind. In obedience to the apostolic injunction, therefore, let us flee from 'the prince of the power of the air, the spirit that now works in the children of disobedience.'¹

We conclude the statement on Clement's eschatology by saying that there is a distinct absence of the idea of everlasting punishment. At this point he is at variance with the Latin theology. We do not find that fear was used to motivate a type of righteousness. Clement looked upon such a conception as immature. Such morality produced in that manner was without any high virtue. His point of view does

1. Clement, Exhortation to the Heathen, Ante-Nicene Christian Library, Vol. 4, p. 22.

not demand a hell, at least in the medieval sense. Any punishment that would come to any individual was at least temporary and had a remedial purpose and never inflicted in an arbitrary and vindictive fashion. Further, no hell was required because there is something of a note of universalism in his idea. The redemptive activities of the Eternal were eternal and would in the end educate His children to a higher status in likeness to Himself.

THE CONCLUSION

After a study of this nature, we are led to see the place that Clement of Alexandria occupied in the thought currents of that early period of church history. We can plainly see that Clement was a part of the period which was flourishing in Greek influence. The Greek thought had been revitalized in Alexandria. It is plain to see that Clement labored under no restraints in his thinking. The general temperament of the time was one of reason and the freest inquiry. It would scarcely be extravagant to say that at this time there was being given the impetus for a theology which was broad in its scope and deep in its abiding spirituality. Much of it would be a revitalizing agency in our society of today, if there should occur a reproduction of its main tenets.

In the affairs of the world-at-large the Roman conquests had resulted in the amalgamation of the world. The world had been brought into more of a unity. It was now compact. As a result of all of this process, there came the Roman law endeavoring to meet the needs of a diversified population. The law had achieved something of a comprehensive spirit and it had been based upon the nature of man.

We may say that this was an occurrence of the external world. Analagous to this movement we see the later happenings in the sphere of religious thought. Because of its chaotic state -- the many religions demanded attention from the world and divided men and caused confusion and skepticism -- there were those who were seeking unity in the midst of this flux and diversity. A great task presented itself to the religious thinkers and philosophers of the day. It called for someone to delve beneath the phenomena of diversity to some underlying principle of unity. The demand of the times was for a catholicity which would not violate any of the elements of truth or the spiritual thought wherever such might be found. Because of this there appeared upon the scene the work of gnosticism and later on the Neo-Platonic philosophy. The heathen world had made its stand in such a representative as Plutarch. A part of this same process was later at work in Alexandria. Clement found himself in a position that demanded attention from the surrounding systems of non-Christian thought. In his thought he was called upon to not neglect the truth that might be contained in any system of thought. Unbiased, he had to give attention to all of their hopes and aspirations. On the other hand, Clement tried to emphasize the value and importance of divine revelation given in Greek philosophy. We have seen that

again and again he has pointed out the contribution of the Greek thinkers to the truth. In the end it was Clement's aspiration to show conclusively that Christianity was a universal religion which embraced the truth of each of the systems of religion and philosophy which called for the allegiance and attention of the world of that day.

Without any difficulty one can appreciate the fact that the situation was most intricate and the danger to the Christian faith was great. But the Christian thought, through the work of Clement and others, was able to survive the polemics of the non-Christian world, and brought forth into the clear light of reason the principle which bound all things together and gave the foundation for a universal religion. We must always pay tribute to Clement for his great influence at Alexandria in forging a catholic faith by which divergencies of the faith have been met as they have been nowhere else in the church. It was Clement himself that largely helped to overcome the principle of gnosticism. Later, it was Athanasius, the bishop of Alexandria, who fought for the doctrine of the incarnation and secured its triumph.

Clement has left the world a number of very valuable contributions. One is impressed with his lofty ethical teachings, and the fruits which it bore in the practical transformation of the life, which Clement has stressed. He

has given a basis for the Christian ethic as well as the solution to many ethical problems which not only were appropriate to his day but may be applicable in many instances to our own time. In the character of Christ he found the highest evidence of His divine mission to humanity.

Further, the importance of Clement is seen, because, as the first of the Greek fathers, he stands in the same relation to those that came after him as Augustine sustained to the Latin theology of the Middle Ages, or Luther or Calvin to later Protestantism. Although it is apparent that the later fathers modified his thought considerably, yet they remained quite true to the spirit of his teaching.

One of the merits of Clement that seems very noteworthy is the fact that he seems never to have confused the speculations of men with God the Great Reality. He kept himself quite free and independent of mere opinions and various concepts. It was his own conviction that there was a distinction to be drawn between "declaring God and declaring the things about God."

It seems quite impossible to study the thought life of a great man like Clement without regretting that much of what he taught did not predominate the stream of Christendom to a larger degree. The author of this dissertation feels that it is most regrettable that other less rational and less desirable conceptions of the whole realm of theology

became dominant rather than the sane and more human view of religion that was so characteristic of Clement. One cannot follow the Alexandrian school long before one is completely struck with the modern point of view. One sees in Clement the thought of Horace Bushnell in the idea of Christian nurture and education. The element of instruction in religion which is so basic is the underlying thesis in Clement's contentions. Much of the attractiveness of his theology lies in the fact that he was temperate, orderly, calm and simple in his presentation. The whole moral tone of his work is kindly. Clement grows on one because of his charming literary temper, his attractive candour and the brave spirit which has made him a guiding light in pioneer theology.

The fact that he had a complete knowledge of the whole range of Biblical and Christian literature both of heretical and orthodox works is most impressive. He was fond of letters also and had a comprehensive knowledge of the pagan poets and philosophies. These he loved to quote and for this reason has left to the world a number of fragments of lost works. Again and again one is called to notice the extraordinary mass of facts and citations collected by him and pieced together in his writings.

Much of his work still may stand as a guiding light.

Time has not dimmed his view of man or his conception of the redemptive processes of God in the world. His faith is not cluttered by the Council of Nicaea and the succeeding councils. His idea of Christian morality is not blind obedience but is in a real sense an examined faith which has lead to a high choice.

Clement has been somewhat dwarfed by his illustrious pupil Origen and others who have followed him. Nevertheless, he will always remain one of the great torch bearers of the early centuries who being dead yet speaketh.

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